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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade, and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two categories: government agents and recruiters.[26] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[26] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[851] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."[48]

648 619 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only exchange sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[439] [436] [582] [574] [796]

[48] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 [415] are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [323] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [439] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this. [648] Gwiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis. [821] When Tip touched it, Gwiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bung" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
21 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

443 The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the bared (canal) leading from the foot of the Waskuk mountain to the Sepik. [489] This varies according to the height of the river water. At high water canoes can come up to the very edge of the forest. At present the end of canoe navigation is 100 yds. out in the swamp grass.

"The market is held a few hours after sunrise for it takes more than an hour for the Waskuk to descend the mountain and about the same time for the Yambon to paddle up-river in their canoes. I reach the edge of the swamp grass shortly after 8 A.M. The Waskuk are before me, but the Yambon are not yet in sight. Four young men of Waskuk are seated on logs around a small fire. Twenty to thirty women sit in three groups apart from the [293] men without the benefit of the shade which the men enjoy. The women hold slabs of bark over their heads to avoid the sun and still wear their string bags even though they are sitting down. They talk among themselves as do the men with only a few remarks passing between the groups.

"After a few minutes wait, the heads of men poling in three canoes can be seen above the swamp grass. There are eight or nine canoes, but since the Sepik river women paddle sitting, these cannot be seen until they have reached the head of the canal. When they are all grounded and their paddles have been stuck upright in the mud alongside their canoes, the Waskuk women gather up their digging sticks and bark wrapped bundles of washed sago to walk through the ankle deep muck to the canoes. I follow shortly after with the men. The Waskuk women are busy setting up their digging sticks or, if they haven't one, a piece of bamboo of the same length. In front of these uprights each women deposits her forty to fifty pound bundle of sago and unwraps it. The food had about the consistency of roquefort cheese and stands up in a triangular lump when the bark wrappings [439] are removed. Its colour is grey or a dirty pink. The Yambon women now

443 start the business. They bring two or three bundles of small fish each.
439 The bundle is of narrow brown leaves about a foot long and two inches in diameter, and contains between one and two dozen minnows of at least three different species. They walk about looking over the different lumps of sago which the Waskuk women have broken up into pieces roughly six inches square. One "rope" of fish is worth one block of sago at the present rate of exchange. But there is some inspection of the sago on the part of the Yambons and a similar feeling of the fish bundles by the Waskuk. There is little talk during the exchange. A Yambon woman sees some sago that catches her fancy. She taps the woman who stands by it to gain her attention and offers her a "rope" of fish. The Waskuk woman pinches the fish, is satisfied, and hands her a block of sago for it. The Yambon carries the sago to her canoe and comes back with more fish. The Yambons now change their article of trade from fish to the native spinach, and betel nuts. A few ropes of beads are also offered for the little sago that remains. The whole period of actual trade had been about 15 minutes. The few men of Yambon and Waskuk who are present wander about on the edges and take no active part in the exchange. When it is finished, the Waskuk retire toward the forest with their mat bags only partly filled by the few fish and vegetables they have received. They all stop in a little pool in the swamp grass to wash the last bits of sago from the bark wrappers.

142 " The contrast between the Yambon and Waskuk women in physique is very clearly seen at this time. It is like looking at paintings by El Greco and Rubens side by side. Yambon women are short, spindly and undernourished looking. Their breasts droop and their malars stand out. Their colour is dark brown. Few of them would look out of place riding a broomstick,

648 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy
657 place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Max left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for us. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days
648 tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with
439 them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from
178 them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come
173 up one time with some of our Hongwem; and the Kwoma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Vorey, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

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114
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[439]

Today was full of excitement for us here. Five men from Yambon have been up here for the last two days trying to capture and buy a large tamed pig, because as they say "no good blut bilong man 'e go down along pig". So our cook boy was requested to bring a shotgun and kill the beast for them. Mamb thought that my .455 English Service revolver would be better so he said "ume go wantime". I was willing although I had shot my small cannon only half dozen times since buying it from Max Mann when we first came up the river.

In the morning we started out for Marok's house on the most easterly spur of these mountains. When we reached Sombundura, his house tamberan, we found the men of Yambon sitting there waiting for word to be brought that the pig had come for its morning meal. [439] They showed us what they were paying for the pig: one axe, two 14" cane knives and the rest in shells. The latter consisted of one large polished clam shell, a half-dozen two foot ropes of ½ inch shell cylinders, a few strings of small cowries and an arm band and headdress of small cowries. The shells have definite values in shillings - and very high ones too. The single clam shell for example being worth 5 marks . In all there was about thirty shillings worth of shell money. "Something nothing" compared to the bride-price John was told.

Finally a monki came running down with word that the pig had come to the house. Mamb and I hastened along the path a few hundred yards to Marok's house. Here we found quite a crowd sitting quietly while a woman fed one of two pigs some sago. I was in a quandry as to which was the one to be shot, and there was such an under-current of excitement that I had trouble finding out. When I was sure, they kept whispering to go ahead and shoot, but the woman still stood close by and I feared hitting her instead of the pig. Finally she put down the sago and moved off giving us a

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwam
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Hayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

22 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event. Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man or his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

578 593 lege kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Baw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel pepers before they were ripe.

123 179 439 January 17, 1987. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Pit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Pit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [975] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's nareuboi came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

000 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "singsing" rhythm from Wanyabankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
574 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told
[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, Moy, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially Moy and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
123 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere
439 near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinam" (from Rumbim) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwem were
[24] friendly; Urambanji and Saseraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwem always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
[23] me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wiaspaiu -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Owiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Owiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Owiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Owiyap and Mar this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[560] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush [324] pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to [439] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his [685] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter [692] rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"! Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

439 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hey ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilewas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilewas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Hes and Owiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Hdowey house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
457 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayemakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way,
and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayemakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there.
The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him
before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time
I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangrishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betal pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's.
War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back
and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[593] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back,
[628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had
not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police
had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind
for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other
day and found that Bviyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

224 [518] made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and [648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Hayamakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 627 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dosen or so carrying spears stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Soubundura and Wey came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 241 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Ewal was cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Mey, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa's on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwums were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them nam but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

● 489 Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Mar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

732 123 Mwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpengay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwe, Yewaf, Difa, Mboren, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. Mey would have contributed something, but he is a "monki nothing".

593 Since Mgusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbina because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Hamb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Yambon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Hamb would shoot o'gouris for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Hamb would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [461] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by [241] Owiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Owiyap and Hay said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 5, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Owiyap, Awa, and Ewiya there to finish [787] it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [123] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

262
192 Soups and other foods

foroku ndonku (pork soup) - foyí (pork), mboowí (taro), lofu (banana), mɔngisa (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbirɸɸí (spinach) .

foroku ndonku-mɸwí (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), foyí (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbirɸɸí (spinach), mɔngisí (leaf greens), mɸwí (coconut).

wuairí mɸoa kuwutu (thick vegetable soup) -hiowí (a kind of vegetable), mbirɸɸí (spinach), mɔngisí (leaf greens), owí (sago grubs), kwinyí (pork).

afosɸupí ndonku (cassowary soup) -mbirɸɸí (spinach), mɸwí (coconut), mɔngisí (leaf greens), mboowí (taro), lofu (banana).

[252] afondowan and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] [439] Fish that is bought from Yambon at the market is already smoked and is merely salted and eaten with sago.

Ornaments

301 286 237 192 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawŋ) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).

[583] [439] [436] Shells, yasi (small cowrie shells) and asimangirí (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below, an ornament called nŋ masíkí (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net bags.

[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (asingurí), shell ornaments (wanyiví), yasi, asimangirí and lofu wafí (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mano) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouris pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mapo.

301 [561] A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white 301 237 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo ŋolw) is attached